

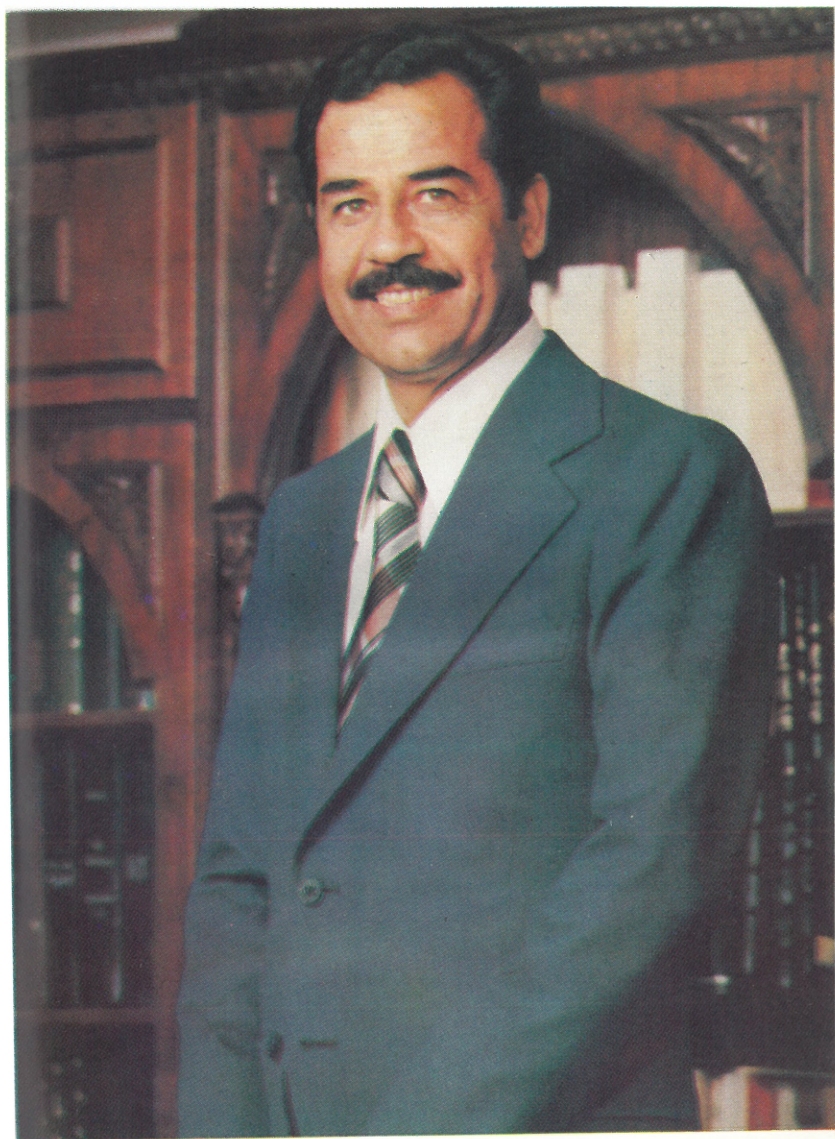
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Building Up
Iraq Together

Dar al-Ma'mun



Saddam Hussein

Building Up Iraq Together

Editor's Note

Ever since the advent of the new era in Iraq, under the 1968 Revolution, President Saddam Hussein has given close attention to the question of national unity and coherence, with a view to paving the way for all Iraqis regardless of their ethnic or religious characteristics to enjoy full rights of citizenship, to shoulder all their tasks and to contribute to the building up of new Iraq. Hence President Hussein's distinguished role in settling the Kurdish question thus enhancing Iraq's national unity and ensuring full rights for Iraqi Kurdish citizens.

In the two speeches delivered by President Saddam Hussein to Kurdish intelligentsia and fighters - which are translated in this book-this point figures prominently. Here President Hussein focusses on how to further cement the process of construction and defend the homeland and its course of progress, with particular reference to the role of Iraqi Kurdish citizens.

**The (Ethnic) Characteristics
and the Greatest Umbrella**

**Address given by President
Saddam Hussein**

to the

**Participants in a Seminar
on Kurdish Culture Held by the
Kurdish Culture and Publishing
House on March 9, 1983**

Chapter I
The (Ethnic and Religious)
Characteristics and the
Greatest Tent

I m pleased to meet with a gathering of good Iraqis from our Kurdish people representing Kurdish intellectuals whether by themselves or through the tasks they carry out on their behalf in one way or another. I do not say that this group represents the whole Kurdish intelligentsia so that certain Kurdish intellectuals of the opposition, if any, will not be offended.

I have heard part of the discussions. As usual, I shall not comment on them from a technical point of view, but rather take the most comprehensive general meaning. I would say that when we, in Iraq, talk about our Kurdish identity there is nothing that mars or violates our Iraqi patriotism.

What really violates it is to talk about our Kurdish identity separately from our

Iraqi tent and from our duties towards great Iraq as a whole, whether in terms of intellectual responsibility as we perceive it or in terms of daily practice. So is the case when we talk about the Turkoman identity and the Turkomans as well as other Iraqi (ethnic and religious) characteristics in our dear country.

Iraq is not the only country in the world that has ethnic and religious characteristics as well as groups and sects within each religion. If we take, for instance, the European countries, ahead of us in modern civilisation, we shall see that no one of them is without such characteristics. There are many ethnic groups, religions and sects within religions. There are in certain countries tens of such characteristics which makes the Iraqi case a very small one compared with other countries.

Hence, the Iraqi citizen who cannot put up with such characteristics and cannot act properly within their atmosphere cannot be the one of whom we are proud. Nor can he be the Iraqi about whom we read as the first to carry the banner and

essence of the human message to all humanity when he founded the world's first civilisation.

If Iraq, the great country, feels uneasy about such characteristics-which are less than those of other countries-how are we to imagine the situation of other countries? If those countries with diverse (ethnic and religious) characteristics conduct their own affairs and deal with life untiringly and without renouncing their national and human roles, how can the Iraqi citizen be so weary of such characteristics that he cannot deal properly with life and with the unity of his people?

Therefore the thoroughbred Iraqi is more equipped than others to deal with such aspects. At any rate he will not be less equipped than others to shoulder responsibility in its historical context. Moreover, to dwell upon characteristics may imply a certain sensitivity, and sometimes even a feeling of inferiority.

Please allow me to say this, for I always speak frankly with the Iraqis. Equally, I say that those key officials who dwell upon

the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party and forget to highlight the role of the people either have a sense of inferiority or lack the necessary awareness to grasp the historic implications of talking about the people's role.

The Party leads the people and its role is quite understandable and in no need of lengthy and detailed discourse which makes us forget the role of the people.

Thousands of Ba'thists may be offended by these comments. I mean the leading officials in the Party and state. If Saddam Hussein talks about the Party and the Ba'thists to excess, are all Iraqis Party members? No, the Iraqi people is bigger and larger than the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party which is at any rate smaller in number than the people. This does not mean that the rate of Party membership is lower than what it should be in relation to the total number of population. This rate, in fact, should be less than what it is now. It is now 10 per cent of the whole population, which is a high rate compared with that of the Soviet Communist Party to the Soviet

people, or the Chinese Communist Party to the Chinese people, or the Yugoslav Communists' League to the Yugoslav people, etc.

Any party or leadership or trend should feel that it remains smaller than the people it is leading. In fact, it is only serving the people. Without such a feeling, concepts will be distorted and deviation will start. Therefore, it is not advisable that a member of the Revolution Command Council should devote the whole of his talk to the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party's role, achievements and teachings. We should not forget the role and heroism of the Ba'th Party. But we have to put them within the context of the greater historic heroism, the heroism of the Iraqi people led by the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party.

If, from a position of high responsibility we acted conversely we would either lack the necessary understanding of how to deal with life, its facts, its circumstances and needs or have a psychological defect of which we have to get rid in order that we should be able to deal in a normal way with life.

Receiving Iraqi citizens, I sometimes ask them where they come from. One of them answered that he was Kurd. I laughed and told him: "Well, I did not ask you about your ethnic origin, but about the city you come from. Therefore, you can say you are from Sulaimaniya."

I think that such an attitude is an excessive devotion to (ethnic) characteristics arising from a certain psychological state which we have to get rid of. I understand this psychological state and treat it in a different manner from the attitude of an Iraqi from Basra Province if he replies to a similar question by saying that he is an Arab from Basra-which in my opinion, amounts to a form of renunciation of the Iraqi identity with its own characteristics, or to a racist way of thinking.

But when an Iraqi citizen abroad is asked about his country, it is only legitimate that he should say that he is an Arab from Iraq, or that he is Iraqi. But when I ask another Iraqi and he answers that he is a Kurd, I will not consider this a deviation, because I take the historical and psycholo-

gical background of such excessively sensitive attitude towards (ethnic) characteristics. Indeed, I will relate it to its own circumstances and act accordingly.

However, as an official responsible for the Iraqis, I, from my own position, will ensure that such a particularity should not be excessively expressed in action and concept. Yet, I can say that to talk about our Kurdish identity will not weaken us, since this is done within the context of expressing our feeling of pride in our Iraqi identity.

We have to promote this attitude until the Iraqi media in the Kurdish language get saturated with it. Let the Iraq daily and other papers oriented to the Kurds among our people be full of material about the Kurds, their history, literature and culture. These papers should also publish all that they receive about this issue. Within a certain period, there will be a state of saturation with this subject among our Kurdish people after they will have read all that pleases them about Kurdish culture, arts, etc. Then talking about this subject will cease to be an attractive point for the pur-

pose of opposition, but rather an over-repeated case. Then, the Iraqi Kurds from Sulaimaniya will tell you : "Will you please stop this and tell us about something else, or at least inlay this excessive handling of particularity with talking, for instance, about literature in Cuba, or in Algeria, or that of Andalusia. Let us be acquainted with life in all its general aspects and do not confine us to one corner only; If you deal with Kurdish culture in all its forms - literature, art, music-in a balanced manner there will remain a need for more.

Hence flood the papers with material about Kurdish literature, culture, art, poetry until our Kurdish people get saturated. Then you can strike a balance by talking about your Iraqi identity with all that it implies, because it is richer and more appropriate for the Iraqi Kurd than confining him to the corner of his Kurdish characteristics only. If we tell him that his history is Kurdish only, we will be insulting him, depriving him of what enhances and deepens the Iraqi bond on the basis of the unity of the people which is a result of the unity of history and other factors.

This history of Iraqi Kurds goes back to thousands of years of civilisation, the civilisation of Iraq as a whole, to a distinguished effort, as part of Iraq's role, in building up the Islamic Arab civilisation.

If we confine the Kurds to one corner we shall deprive them of their great historical role in making this civilisation. Is this acceptable? No, it is not, because it would be unfair to our Kurdish people.

There is sometimes, a mistake in understanding certain concepts. For instance, a caption to a photograph reads: "Saddam Hussein, Hero of Nationalist Liberation." I am not pleased with such a thing, because I find that the word "nationalist" (Arab) in this context and in these circumstances may make non-Arab Iraqis mistakenly feel that they are excluded.

I understand that when we talk about nationalism and Iraq's nationalist role we involve the whole Iraqi people, regardless of its diverse characteristics, in this concept. However, I feel that when the Iraqi Kurd reads the phrase "Hero of Nationalist Liberation" he may feel that the word

“nationalist” means ‘Arab nationalist’ and not ‘Iraqi’.

If one day we have a bigger power and go beyond our borders in order to carry out our duty towards the Arabs, it will be a great honour for us as Iraqis, including Saddam Hussein. Therefore, we can say “Hero of Liberation” without “Nationalist”, since the addition of the latter word may create some confusion. All Iraqis will feel involved in this term.

Hence, we have to be careful of the psychological aspect of such phrases. When Saddam Hussein talks, for instance, about Arab-Kurdish brotherhood to excess, repeating the terms Arab-Kurdish, this will make of the local ethnic characteristics a barrier isolating Iraqis from each other instead of building up bridges of interaction among them.

Another term is “our Kurdish brothers” as if the Iraqi Kurds are outside Iraq’s borders or as if they are neighbours to Iraq such as our Jordanian brothers, or our Syrian brothers.

The people sometime use phrases without realising their psychological effect and the harmful points they engrave in the background of thought. I consider it a mistake to say "our Kurdish brothers," because they are our brothers in the first place: every Iraqi is a brother to other Iraqis. This term gives the impression that there is a barrier. The same applies to the term, "our Turkoman brothers," which also gives the impression that there are barriers between the Iraqi Turkoman and his other Iraqi brothers, while we talk about one people, the Iraqi people, which is, as we have always been saying, composed of several characteristics such as religious and ethnic groups, sects within religions and factions within sects.

As I told the fighters, I wish that the Iraqi Kurds will have the same role as that of the Iraqi Arabs in defending Iraq, because the effects and consequences, the reasons and factors of the events of this era will be studied for hundreds of years to come.

Perhaps, its study will be more attractive not now and not in Saddam Hussein's

time, but some fifty years later. Its effects will be more profound and comprehensive because it will constitute an important part of Iraq's modern history, if not the most important.

If in 200 years, for instance, scholars find that the Iraqi people did not fight as one it will make me sad even in my absence, when none of us will be there. Indeed, it will be painful for me as of now to think that a scholar or a historian will find such was the case when he researches into the present epoch and its lessons.

Therefore, I do not want stories novels, the arts of painting, music and singing to flourish among Arabs only, or Turkomans only, or Kurds only. Similarly, I do not want only the Arab Iraqis to raise their heads and arms in defence of great Iraq. What pleases me indeed is to see all brains and arms cooperating in this direction.

Any failure in the Kurdish citizens' performance or in its expression of such concepts will be an indication that our Kurdish people's interaction with the course of the Revolution is not as it should be. I

believe that every fair-minded person, free from complexes, who logically and objectively considers the course of the Revolution, will conclude that it is, together with all its fields and orientations, a source of pride for us all.

Hence, I hope that the sense of association is one of interaction and creativity, and that it will seriously spread far and wide among our Kurdish people.

I have directly and indirectly heard that there are certain Iraqis and certain Ba'thists who say they don't like to compose a poem which describes positively the Revolution and its course and leaders. When we ask them why, they answer that so many people are doing that. Therefore, they claim, there is no point in doing the same thing. This view, in my opinion, implies either shortsightedness or a psychological defect that deprive those concerned of the ability to see the role of the Iraqi man in the course of the Revolution and his right and duty towards it, since he is part of it not only its normal daily movement but also in terms of its generous giving and

historical movement. Was the course of the Revolution made only by a certain poet, or a certain writer, engineer, worker? Have not all the Iraqis taken part in making this course? Why should we therefore prevent the Iraqis from exercising their right in doing what they believe to serve the course of the Revolution, and speak out their convictions?

When all Iraqis repeat and do what we used to say and do when we were a minority during our underground struggle, this should be a source of pride to us. This should also prompt us to repeat what we used to say when we were a minority with the vast majority of our people.

Those who act otherwise should soon realise their mistake so that it will not grow into a deviation. They should treat their intellectual and psychological defects.

Hence, if we ask any fair-minded Iraqi Kurd about his opinion, he will say: "I believe in the course of the Revolution. I believe this course is correct even if I have certain criticisms of some of its aspects; but, as a whole, I have never seen a similar

thing before. It is better than all that has preceded it."

This is what all fair people would say even when they criticise one aspect or more of the measures taken throughout the course of the Revolution whether concerning the Kurds or all Iraqis. This is a healthy view because it expresses not only integration and harmony with this course but also criticism aimed at righting mistakes through recognized proper channels.

Take any person from Arbil (in the north) or Meisan (in the south). He will say the same thing.

We don't know if there is something better than this course in the minds of some people. Before our assumption of power, certain regimes and movements were good at flowery ideological talk but, when they had the chance to be in power, they all failed in practice.

Hence, for the sake of free argument, we can tell our brother from Arbil or Meisan or Sulaimaniya: "if we offer you power now, who will ensure that you will make

something better than what we have now?" What he is talking about is something untied; but our system has already been tested, and it is much better than all the previous systems in Iraq.

I believe that every fair-minded and uncomplicated person would say within himself, if not publicly, that the present system is in advance of all others. If he has no yardstick, he can look at the conditions on the battle-front. Were it not for this great and good (Revolution's) course, the Iranians would have reached Anbar Province (in the west of Iraq).

Does the Iraqi, who is fighting today in defence of Iraq, do so in defence of an abstract form of a homeland, i.e. in defence of Iraq as a land only? No; he is fighting in defence of the land on which a lofty construction has been raised in all fields. This fact is known to all and felt by all. Had the achievements of the last fourteen years not been in this direction, the Iraqis would not have fought in the same manner as they are doing now, and the Iranians would have reached Anbar Province.

This is one of the most prominent yardsticks which everyone, including those abroad, can apply to measure things even if they lack the ability to see the achievements and the facts of the Revolution's course. Through logical and rational inference, we can say that our system is different from all other systems; it is in advance of them in terms of generous giving and link with the people. Therefore why should we be shy to say that we are part of this system and of this course? Why should we not consider the failure to interact with this course a disgraceful thing? Should a citizen of Meisan Province feel shy when he talks about Salahuddin, the Iraqi Kurd who was born in Tikrit? Should he feel shy when he praises Salahuddin because he was a Kurd, and should he be afraid of being then accused of opportunism?

As Iraqis, we should associate ourselves with all that is good in our country as well as all that is not so good. That is, we should be proud of our country, and develop what is good, and try to correct what is not. If we stand arms-folded we will not be Iraqis. I do not consider those who stand

arms-folded to be Iraqis. It is not enough that an Iraqi should be so defined only in his identity card. To be a real Iraqi, he should think responsibly in terms of daily action and historical view, and accordingly act and interact. Otherwise, he will be like the son who loves his mother when she is young feeding and taking care of him as a child, but when she gets ill he abandons her by the wayside.

We love Iraq not because it has become high and prosperous, etc.; We have loved Iraq since it was a backward country with a secondary role. In those days, when Iraq was mentioned, listeners in foreign and even some Arab countries would be confused, mixing it up with Iran, because Iraq was absent from their daily vocabulary unless they recalled the old history of Babylon and Baghdad. Nowadays, however, wherever you go, if you mention Iraq they would say to you, "Yes, you are from Iraq, the country of construction, determination, steadfastness, pride," etc.

Yes, we have loved Iraq since those hard times, those dark days. Since Iraq was back-

ward with a secondary role, humiliated and oppressed, we have loved it and struggled for the realisation of the day when everyone will enjoy its glory and prosperity except for those who collapsed or were illegitimately filled with hatred, rancor and corruption. We loved Iraq and still love it, in order to serve it, in order to build it up and defend it.

The Iraqi citizen should not stipulate conditions for his own country from outside in terms of feeling and behaviour, thus failing to love his country except when it is prosperous and stable. Any Iraqi acting in this manner cannot belong to Iraq and has no right to it. Rather, Iraq will reject him for ever if he maintains this position even after he is advised, and healthy conditions are provided for him to think and act honestly and responsibly.

You are responsible for your country. You build it up. You write poetry, compose music and songs for it and sing its praises. You take up the sword in its defence in the same manner as you build up this lofty and prosperous structure of civilisation.

We feel sorry for those who take so much money and so many rifles from such State in order to fire a few shots in the mountains. We feel sorry for them because they are outside the (Revolution's) course. Equally, we feel sorry for the level of their thinking and minds because their action is incompatible with history.

You may find that such an incident may occur in the mountains four or five, or ten, or a hundred or even two hundred times, now or in the ten or fifteen years to come. However, one cannot but pity such people and feel sorry for their stance because they do not enjoy the honour of the great course (of the Revolution) whether in terms of pride or participation.

Let us move on to a critique of another kind of behaviour. In the Ba'th Party and among the people, we have come across certain people who begin their talk with the notion that they are frank, imagining that frankness is confined to criticism and forgetting that frankness does in fact lie in saying and interacting with the truth, whether in terms of rejection, adoption or acceptance.

A frank man is not he who criticises only, otherwise his criticism will be destructive in result if not in intention. Hence, in criticising a community, one should take part in the moral and actual responsibility of the progress of this community if he is one of its members. Also, he should offer an alternative to whatever he criticises as deserving criticism, or at least he should be psychologically and practically prepared to interact with others, and give up his position when discussion has proved it wrong.

Therefore, he who is genuinely frank should advocate the correct thing even if this demands that he should draw his sword in its defence. If we are frank in advocating the ready-made correct thing, but not frank in correcting mistakes, we shall fall into an imbalanced state. Equally if we advocate open criticism without advocating what is correct we shall lose balance in our minds, souls, character and behaviour. Persisting in such a stance eventually leads to deviation, which in turn may lead to treason.

You have referred to the requirements and to the need to be economical in providing them because of war conditions. Now, let us imagine that we are still an underground party: would the present requirements be enough to spread Kurdish culture on the largest scale? I believe they are more than enough. Before the Revolution, we, in the Party had only three cars and only four secret houses for all the Party. With such modest resources we launched the Revolution. Therefore, can't we take Hawkari (Iraqi Kurdish weekly) to the farthest point with one tenth of the resources available at your office? I think we can. Let us therefore work as fighters under your country's present conditions-which are known to you.

The efficient man is he who acts in a correct and precise manner in terms of time and place within the context of available resources, as well as creating additions, in

accordance with circumstances. Therefore, you have to struggle; you have to consider yourselves like the men fighting on the front lines. In fact, you have to realize that you are called upon to exert a double effort in your work. Everyone who has not yet carried arms on the front lines and is still in the rear, in Baghdad, in Sulaimaniya, or in Kirkuk, has to work as a civil servant under extraordinary conditions, war conditions, and at the same time as an Iraqi who has not yet gone to the front and carried arms as his brothers have done.

If we work in such a spirit, you will see that the available resources at present are more than enough.

At any rate, I call upon you my brothers responsible for this seminar not to be nervous about Kurdish culture. Also, I call upon the others not to be drowned in Kurdish specificity, forgetting the highest

and greatest banner, the banner of Iraq and of the Iraqi identity as well as their role in building up our great civilisation in the same spirit as that of their forefathers.

Indeed, those forefathers had made Iraq in the past a lighthouse to guide their own people and play a great role in guiding all humanity when Babylon, Ashur and Baghdad were great banners for all mankind.

I wish you success.

Thank you.

CHAPTER II

Thus We Belong To Iraq

**An Address Given by
President Saddam Hussein
to a Group of Kurdish Fighters
When He Honoured Them With
the Order of Bravery on
January 1, 1983**

We have invited you to this place to honour you for your distinguished role in defence of Iraq-as your commanders have told us-and through you, to honour every faithful Iraqi Kurd who has honourably fought in defence of great Iraq, besides honouring you as Iraqis in general.

When the Iraqi honourably and courageously fights we do not ask from which village, tribe or ethnic group he is, but rather we ask if he is an Iraqi or not. The answer is no doubt: yes.

A number of volunteers from your brothers in other Arab countries are fighting on your side. But, in practical terms, the main weight in repulsing the aggression against great Iraq is borne by the Iraqis.

However, when we hear that a Kurd is distinguished among the Iraqis we feel very happy. Why? Isn't it his duty to defend Iraq? The answer is: Yes, it is his duty. But still we feel happier with him than with an Iraqi Arab from Hilla or Anbar when they are reported to have fought valiantly. Why should we feel happy with an Iraqi from Sulaimaniya when he is reported to have fought valiantly? The answer is clear: because there is a concentration of conspiracies on the population of Sulaimaniya by the enemies, traitors and colonialist forces.

The concentration by colonialists, traitors and some foreign countries on the people of Duhok is greater than that on the people of Anbar Province, for instance.

Therefore, despite all this concentration of attempts to undermine the patriotism of the people of Sulaimaniya Province, they maintain their loyalty to their country, Iraq, as well as their honour. It is thus that our happiness with them is twice as much as our happiness with the people of Baghdad for instance, when they act in the

same manner that we see everyday. Therefore ,we are very pleased with you.

How great your sincerity is therefore, despite all the complicated conditions you have gone through at the hands of colonialists and evil ones who have concentrated their efforts on you in an attempt to portray things as if the defence of Iraq is the responsibility of all Iraqis except the Kurds.

However, we find among the Kurds heroes who have gained prominence among other Iraqis. Indeed, I remember among these some valiant officers whose example was very rare. When I asked about them I was told that they are Iraqi Kurds. When I visited the Fourth Corps, I called at the headquarters of a battalion and asked its commander what measures he would take if the enemy penetrated his front. He refused to discuss this possibility saying, "How can the enemy penetrate the front of my Battalion? It can never do so." I said, "Let us suppose so." He answered: "But Sir, how can we suppose such a thing? How can the enemy penetrate my front while the fighters are in the trenches, and we

have good weapons? It can never do so.” When I asked from which town he was, I found that he was from Sulaimaniya. I was much more pleased with him than I would have been with a citizen from Baghdad for instance, for the considerations I have just mentioned. Besides our faith, there is concrete evidence that the Iraqis, wherever they come from, are the children of this country, defending and building it up whether they are from Sulaimaniya, Najaf, Salahuddin or any other area in Iraq.

When we have such concrete fact I am in no need to say that our faith in the future will be enhanced, because our faith is unshakable. Rather, I will offer these facts to those whose faith in the future is shaken and say to them, “Look to the future how bright it is; this citizen from Sulaimaniya has long been a target to attempts aimed at undermining his ideology, but he has remained faithful to the homeland in such a distinguished manner as will make him ready for martyrdom in defence of his country, Iraq.”

As I was told, you have refused to be transferred to the First Corps-in the Autonomy Region-in accordance with a Revolution Command Council's resolution-preferring to remain in your units at the frontlines despite the fact that the resolution is issued by the Revolution Command Council-which gives it the power of Law. According to this resolution a Kurdish soldier, called up as a conscript or a reservist is entitled to be transferred from his unit in the Third or Fourth or Second Corps to the First Corps. However, you have refused this, besides your sincere and courageous stances in defence of the country.

For us, this is an extraordinary indicator of the originality of the Iraqi as well as the level of his awareness. We asked to meet with representative specimens from among you because we cannot meet with all those Kurds, many as they are, who refused to enjoy the benefits of this resolution. Someone may raise this question: "Aren't you the ones who issued the resolution?" When we reply "Yes", he may, then raise another one: "Why should you be pleased if a citizen refuses to implement it?"

The resolution is voluntary; we have not said: "the Kurdish citizen shall be moved," but rather: "if he wants to be transferred from the Third Corps, for instance, to the First Corps we can facilitate his transfer." We have issued the resolution, and we are pleased with the people who say: "No, we do not want to be moved."

Someone may ask why we issued the resolution. This question was raised with me by some Iraqi Kurds and other citizens. I have also heard that it has recently caused certain hurt feelings among Kurds who said: "Why such a resolution? Isn't Iraq for us all? How can citizens from Sulaimaniya remain there, specially as some of them have no combat duties because their number is far bigger than what is needed in combat duties?"

Therefore, why should we go and fight with the citizens of Nineveh, Karbala, Najaf, Salahuddin and Basra in defence of Basra, Meisan and Diyala? We do so, because if the Iranians attacked Sulaimaniya and we left its population fighting alone against the aggressors, they would not be

able to repulse Iran's army. Let us therefore fight them with all the Iraqi people.

When they attack Sulaimaniya we will fight them with the sons of Iraq. When they attack Diyala we will fight them with the sons of Iraq. And, when they attack Basra we will fight them with the sons of Iraq. And the same applies to all other Iraqi cities. A citizen from Anbar may say: "The Iranians are so far away from me. They have not so far attacked me. Why should I, therefore, go to fight in defence of Basra?"

The homeland is for all and everyone. We are not divided into sections so as to say this is my town and that is not. Rather, we are one people, and our basic power lies in being one people. In fact, it is not enough to be one people in nationality. We should be one people in heart, mind and conscience; and we have to consider the entire history of Iraq as ours. Hence, a citizen from Basra should be proud of Salahuddin the Ayubid in exactly the same manner as citizens from the provinces of Sulaimaniya, Salahuddin, Anbar and Egypt are proud of him. Because

history is one, you feel proud of Khalid Bin al-Walid in the same manner as you do with the hero Salahuddin. Therefore, we have one history, one destiny, one present, one future, because we are one people.

As for our people being composed of Arabs, Kurds, Turkomans . . . etc., and of Muslims, Christians and sects and groups within them, this does not mean that only our people is composed of such colours and sects. In fact, we have less of this than other nations.

The peoples of France, Germany, the Soviet Union, for instance, have many sects and ethnic groups. Indeed, no state in the world is without such divisions as we have in Iraq in one way or another. Such divisions do not imply a weakness. Rather, they are the colours of life; and thus they can be an element of strength and not of weakness.

They are not a burden to life.

During a Spring Festival in a recent year (I think it was in 1979), I visited the North. Various provinces had sent their

own non-professional troupes. Some could not send a single troupe. Out of 25 troupes coming from all over the country, 15 troupes came from Nineveh alone. Why did Nineveh alone participate with 15 troupes, while some provinces could not send one single troupe? It is because the colours of life abound in Nineveh more so than in other provinces. Under the Revolution, these colours have, therefore, become bright and gay, and not burdensome to Nineveh, as was the case under past regimes.

In Nineveh there are Arabs, Kurds and Christians with many sects. Represented there are all the colours of Iraq combined. Our own particularities and colours are like the Iraqi complexion. In Iraq, you see people with brown and white complexions and you see blond people too. Such a variety is a pleasant thing if we know how to put it in a proper context, while the combination of shapes and colours in certain other peoples may suggest a form of stagnation. In Iraq, you find the tall and the short, the blond and the brown. You can therefore see new colours of life, although this analogy may not be so precise in expressing

what I want to say. However, it is a simplified example for a certain state of affairs. I believe that the presence in modern Iraq of more than one religion, several sects or groups within each of the main religions and other ethnic groups than the Arabs is not a factor of weakness.

Hostile forces had in the past exploited the presence of such element as a weakening factor and an entry to dividing the people. But in modern Iraq, patriotism has become the identity of the Iraqi citizen. It is above everything else and does not conflict with other sacred considerations.

Such patriotism means that Iraq should be kept powerful and supreme, our numerous colours bright and shining, and our numerous interpretation a spring that constantly flows to enhance the pace of life and maintain its course in the right direction.

In the past, many were deluded. Reports went to certain states to say so-and-so about the people of Sulaimaniya, that the elements of weakness in Sulaimaniya were so-and-so, that the existing gaps were such-and-such.

Fourteen years ago, for instance, the elements of weakness in Salahuddin Province were quite known. So is the case with Basra. Such elements were recorded in the books and files of hostile forces. These forces used to tell Iraq's enemies: "You can penetrate through the such-and-such issue by inciting religions to fight each other, or sects inside each religion to fight each other." While sects are a form of free interpretation of life and an open dialogue based on the common interest, the enemies try to throw these sects and groups into a state of conflict.

Unfortunately-and I say it with pain-they used to succeed in the past because of our lack of awareness. Everyone of us wanted to have a rifle, but to use it against whom? He wanted to use it against his neighbours, or against a certain tribe, saying "When I have a rifle I can kill some of its members." This is exactly what used to happen in the old days. Don't you remember it? Instead of carrying a rifle to kill certain members of tribe (X) who are one's own brothers as Iraqis, one should carry it against those who seek to occupy and humili-

liate Iraq and loot its riches. The reason lay in the weakness of our awareness as well as in the fact that many people were accustomed to this state of affairs.

I was talking to my brothers about these memories, which are probably unknown to our young people nowadays. Hence, I would like to see our old and young people talk about the tragic conditions of Iraq in the past, how we were then and how we are now, so that they may know how to hang on to Iraq by tooth and claw and build it up strongly and with love.

Let me talk to you about some of those tragic things. I lived in a village and went to school, at the beginning, in a town called Tikrit which was at the time a sub-district, and then became a district. Every year we would see on our way to primary school the same shabby clay walls and houses, and unpaved alleyways with stagnant water I used to see the same scene year after year without hearing a word of protest from my family or my neighbours against these miserable conditions which went on and on.

No one asked how long this alleyway would remain unpaved or how long those houses would remain in such a shabby state. They knew nothing about paved streets. They were never tired of the narrow lanes and the miserable houses. If a wall collapsed they would build another in the same manner: with mortar or gypsum. Very few houses were built with bricks, some actually with mortar but faced with bricks, or with brick entrances to give the appearance of being built with bricks.

This was not confined to Tikrit; it applied to all other areas in Iraq. You could see brick houses only in limited areas in the centres of provinces and districts.

But now you can see brick-built houses even in sub-districts and villages. You will see houses built with cement and bricks everywhere, whereas in the past you saw nothing but clay houses all over Iraq. Even in Baghdad many people lived in such houses.

I will tell you an incident that took place before the Revolution. I was told that the tribes of Tikrit had come to the point of killing one another. Why? Because

the government was to construct a bridge there, and every tribe demanded that only its own members should work in the project.

We at the time enjoyed all the tribes' respect, so I suggested that we should go to them and settle the dispute by dividing work opportunities among all of them, since all that any tribe wanted was work for its members. A labourer's daily wages at the time were 350 to 500 fils. This incident took place in the winter of 1968; then in the summer, came the Revolution.

Today we look for labourers to work in the State's projects, and you know how much an unskilled labourer is paid. Therefore, who has deluded those enemies and Khomeini into believing that Iraq is an easy prey?

Khomeini was living in Iraq. And yet, instead of covering the well he drank from to protect it, he started to cast it with fire after leaving Iraq. In Iraq, he lived in isolation, receiving no one except some hypocrites. So he thought all Iraqis would be similar to those hypocrites.

He does not watch television, or listen to radio. Nor does he read a magazine for fear of seeing a girl or a butterfly, or a flower, or a subject on music, because, according to him, these are all taboo. But I don't know whether in the depth of his heart he really consider them all taboo.

Khomeini used to see some hypocrites from among his own followers who were living in Iraq, thus imagining that all Iraqi people were similar to those.

After assuming power, he must have told himself that since he was now in power, he would be able to sweep through Iraq and establish an empire on the Gulf, and thus control the oil of the Gulf and of Iraq. He then imagined that he would be the emperor of the world in modern times since oil is one of the important factors of life.

How far this imagination of his is from reality! Today's Iraq is not that of yesterday, the one recorded in old files and which the enemies had advised Khomeini to control. Those files are now outdated. Today the people of Sulaimaniya are not the same

as they were 14 years ago. They have changed.

In the past, colonialists would give rifles to some citizens from Sulaimaniya, exploiting their lack of awareness, as did the Shah with certain citizens from this province as well as from Baghdad. But now we give them arms. The number of Kurdish members of the Popular Army from among the population of the Autonomy Region's provinces (Sulaimaniya, Arbil and Dohouk) is 40, 000. We would give them arms ten times this figure if they want, because they are our people. Can Khomeini arm 40,000 men?

In the past, they would give a Kurd or an Arab from Fallouja or Muthanna Province a rifle in order to have a fight with his fellow citizens, or to attack a train or a car as it passed through their land, as did some Arabs from Rumeitha, or to attack a governmental caravan at a certain point as did the Arabs of Anbar or the people of Sulaimaniya. Such a thing no longer exists. The people of Anbar and Karbala, for instance, understood that those who caused

differences among them had done so in order to maintain colonial rule. So did the people of Sulaimaniya, who know that it was those enemies who caused trouble between them and the people of Arbil. I met with citizens from Sulaimaniya who said, when I talked to them about Arbil, that they were more advanced than the people of Arbil, that is, they would not like to be compared with the people of Arbil, while those are their own brothers and all are Iraqis as well. When we talked to the people of Samarra they would not be compared with the people of Najaf. It was the colonialists who caused all this because they had sought to sow the seeds of division among them.

But now the rifles have all united after the hearts, consciences and minds have done so. All hopes are now focused on the future they seek and on the means to reach it. With the help of God, such a future will be bright. But if you ask me if there are some people who carry arms against the Revolution in an attempt to cause sedition in Sulaimaniya, I will tell you: yes. Yet, what matters for us is the stance of the majority of our people in Sulaimaniya, and rightly so.

Being so close to our people, we know that the vast majority of our people in Sulaimaniya are with us. Some of them have even been irritated by seeing some insurgents committing certain unlawful acts against State organs of the citizens in the area. They have come to us and demanded that we should go there to hit those insurgents so that "we can freely express our consciences, minds and allegiance to the homeland and participate in building up the new Iraq."

We know this very well. In the past, the Iraqi citizen used to suffer from disease until death. He used to voice his need for treatment by moaning, because he could not afford to pay the fees of a clinic.

I was told a factual joke, that in the wake of the 1941 revolution an Iraqi citizen from the Marshes went to the nearest post office to send a telegram of support to Rashid A'li Al-Gailani (the leader of the revolution). When the post official told him that Al-Gailani's revolution had failed, Abdul Ilah (the Crown Prince then) had come back to Baghdad, and everything had

changed, the man told him to re-address the telegram to Abul Ilah.

You can see the prevalent conditions then: a man travelled for three days without being aware of what was happening until he reached the post office.

It was in such conditions that Iraq lived. When they (the hostile forces) returned to old files they wondered if the present Iraqis were not the same people referred to in those files. They also wondered how the Iraqis were now and where those wounds which existed before in their bodies-and those gaps-which were in their souls-were. "So" they said, "we must make them fight each other, eliminate anything related to the Revolution and construction and make it part of the past."

In this, they wanted to make what gave the Iraqis awareness part of the past. They must have said, "we should destroy Iraq and bring it back to its past state; we shall milk it as we like and offer its milk not to its children but to others in other places."

These files are now outdated. They have become a record of the history of a hateful past. In its modern files, Iraq has become a new people, a new spirit, a new mind, a new thought, and a new blood.

The Iraqi citizen gets angry now if a foreigner wants to insult Iraq; he takes up his rifle and fights him as the Iraqis are doing now in facing Khomeini's aggression. In the past, the Iraqi citizen used to take up his rifle to fight his own brother.

When they call upon a citizen from Sulaimaniya to fight the government he will certainly ask them why. If they tell him: "Because of the autonomy's shortcomings," he will ask them where these shortcomings are. In the past, he would not do this. Now he would ask them what they thought was the best, they wanted.

We have the March Declaration of 1970 and the Government is carrying out its articles; so what are these shortcomings? If the Autonomy in Iraq is imperfect, please tell me how are the Kurds living now in Iran, Turkey, Syria and other places where there are Kurds? We are here in Iraq, we are Iraqis and more."

When they ask him about this he would then say: "I have the same rights and duties as a citizen from Basra has. But, on top of these, I have additional rights provided to me through the Autonomy. Therefore, I have more rights as an Iraqi citizen than the citizen from Basra, while we have equal duties. This is what I know as a Kurd. You want me to say that the Autonomy is imperfect so that you may take me back to the foreigner. Of those foreigners who are arming yau, who will grant you autonomy?" Here, the hostile person would not be able to answer. The Iraqi Kurd then would tell him: "You are a puppet taking your pocket money at the expense of all Kurds and Iraqis, and at the expense of the honour of the homeland, so as to weaken Iraq and strengthen the foreigner."

It seems that Khomeini does not know Iraq's new file. He thought Iraq was still as portrayed in the old files. Thus the enemies who instigated him told him that there were in Iraq numerous religions, ethnic groups, sects and small religious groups. So when you want to enter Iraq the Iraqis will be pleased to receive you,

and you will be then an emperor there.” However, when he tried to enter, the Iraqis started to deal such fatal blows to him that he could not pull back his cloak, because the Iraqis had torn it into pieces. They forced him to fight inside his own territory as a despicable person. In fact, the war has so badly reflected on him that he cannot leave his own house and go out into a street in Teheran.

When Khomeini arrived in Teheran he was carried by the tremendous wave of the rising Iranian peoples who overthrew the Shah and brought Khomeini as an old man, and a religious figure, ect. He was given primacy and carried by millions from the airport to his headquarters. At the time, he had no bodyguards. Now he has become a mean man confined to his house in a Teheran suburb, and has even chosen a small mosque beside his house to perform his prayers. In so doing, he has sought more protection, because he is afraid of residing in the centre of Teheran where he cannot ensure strict security measures to protect him in a city with so many streets, entries, people, booby-trapped cars and

motorcycles, which have been barred of late from passing through the city.

Look how the Iraqis, with God's will and thanks to their own will and action, have defeated Khomeini's aggression. One factor in making Khomeini so mean lies in the Iraqis' will. The Almighty does not tolerate aggression, conceit and injustice.

We sent a telegram of congratulations on the establishment of the Islamic Republic to this man, Khomeini, who is now confined to his house in that suburb unable to leave it and go out for a ride in Teheran.

The late President Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr was performing Al-Umarah (Pilgrimage in Mecca) when the Islamic Republic was established. On behalf of President Al-Bakr, I sent a telegram of congratulations to Khomeini. He replied with a telegram with an impertinent and conceited tone, for it expressed the nature of its sender. He concluded it by the verse "Peace be upon those who follow right guidance" - which is used in addressing infidels. Such is his impertinence and conceit.

When in the end, he tried to harass and humiliate the Iraqis they dealt heavy blows to him. If they had not done so they would have been worthy of nothing.

Even before occupying the territories and shelling the border posts and towns, Khomeini had committed unspeakable crimes against Iraq.

Indeed such crimes would not be committed by a man with the minimum degree of conscience, honour and loyalty to those who had done good to him. He sent his agents to throw bombs on Iraqi school children, causing young children's blood to be shed, like birds with heads cut off. Before shelling the towns of Khanaqin and Mandali he had shelled our children with bombs. But God may wait but never forgets.

Khomeini and his cronies as well as all other enemies of Iraq have been pinning their hopes on the possibility of tearing Iraq into parts and throwing its people into a civil war in order to control its wealth and send the Iraqis back to the days of hunger, poverty, humiliation and the abse-

nance of Iraq in the process of civilisation. In the past and even in the early years of the Revolution, we had nothing to show to a visiting foreigner, with the exception of taking him to Babylon. Even Babylon's ruins had not seen then any care. We had nothing to say to him but: "We were so in the past, and if you have heard about Baghdad, we come from it." He would say: "It's hardly plausible that you are the descendants of those forefathers. Where is your civilisation? Why haven't you done in your present what ensured an extension to your past? Your streets are untidy and unpaved, your children are bare-footed and your faces reveal your miserable conditions."

In the past, many school children had pale faces because they suffered from anaemia; they were undernourished. The peasants' children were bare-footed. They shivered in the cold as they wore nothing more than a long shirt or tattered trousers: when the wind blew it went right through them from the neck down to the feet.

Thus were conditions in Iraq. They (the enemies) think Iraq is still as it used

to be in the past. Things have changed. With their own eyes the Iraqis have seen good life and freedom. With their own hands they have touched and grasped the sense of pride and glory. When they travel abroad and say they come from Iraq, they pronounce the word "Iraq" with all that it implies in terms of greatness, past glory and present pride. The Iraqis would say they come from the country of heroic acts, of happiness and riches. This is Iraq, In the past, the Iraqi traveller abroad would hide himself and refrain from discussion to avoid questions about his nationality. Even if he told them that he came from Iraq they would still confuse it with Iran, because only the latter was known then.

In 1975 and 1976 I went to certain remote areas in Sulaimaniya and Arbil by helicopter. Some citizens of our Kurdish people looked at us with surprise. When I asked them if they had visited the centre of Arbil Province or other districts there, they answered No, they had not.

A man in those areas would live to be 80 without seeing a city. Nowadays, Iraqis are very much advanced; their aspirations

have considerably grown. Indeed, some even make illegitimate demands. A University Student, for instance, told me once that he was 19 years old and had seen nothing but Iraq and asked me to send him abroad. In the past, when a citizen wanted to go to town, he spent the whole day before, preparing himself for the journey; And what sort of a town was that? It was the sub-district I described earlier to you, whose likes you could find all over the country.

Now, many Iraqis want medical treatment only in the US or Britain or France. When the Medical Committee for Treatment Abroad recommends Britain as a place for somebody's treatment, they would come to me asking to go to the US. It seems that even Britain no longer appeals to them! In the past, the Iraqi citizen could not even pay one Dinar for a medical visit at a clinic: he would die without treatment. We have lost many Iraqis who died because they simply could not afford medical treatment. They were under-nourished and had no proper clothes. It all makes us very sad now to remember it.

This, then, is the new Iraqi citizen. He is worthy of your fighting in defence of him, of the progress and of the principles which have brought about all these great achievements to Iraq.

Brothers, new Iraq is worthy of having all the Iraqis fight in its defence, whatever their ethnic or religious affiliation. He who does not fight in defence of Iraq is like a man who does not protect his mother's breasts.

I am pleased with all those Kurds who refused to be transferred from the three other corps to the First Corps. Now why have we passed such a resolution?

In our resolutions, we always take into consideration the interests of our people. For us, law is only a means to serve the interest of our people. We would replace any law which is not in our people's interest with another that serves them.

We studied the situation in the Autonomy Region and found that a number of Iraqi Kurds had failed to join military service, and that there were some evil elements

in touch with them. Hence they stuck to their attitude. I thought over this question and, I must admit, I made this resolution without consulting my brothers in the Leadership and the Revolution Command Council and even in the General Command of the Armed Forces. Then, I told them the reasons.

I came out with a conclusion that the relation of some Kurds with the city was weak because of their conditions and the complications prevailing in the North. For example, when we order somebody to go to Basra to do his military service, he reacts as if he was sent abroad, into exile.

If there are a few such people, they obviously have a bad effect on others. When an amnesty is declared for those deserters, they do not rejoin the army. Therefore we have a great number of military service deserters who are not against the government nor have they carried arms against it. However such men, and they are many, will become a medium that may be exploited, as a whole or in part, against the government by certain impostors and evil elements.

How can we accept that such a great number of Kurds remain subject to whims? So we decided that every Kurdish conscript or reservist who has not yet joined military service is exempt from penalty if he joins the First Corps near his own place. When he serves in the mountain near Sulaimaniya, he will really feel that he is near his place. But when you tell him to go Basra he will feel that it is too distant for him to go specially if he is not as aware (of his responsibilities) as you.

We said then that what matters is not that all of these persons carry arms; what really matters is that they become normal people, going to coffee-shops and clubs, working in governmental offices and encountering police or military police with no fear.

Let us therefore bring them round and tell them: "We have pardoned you, but you have to join your units in the Autonomy Region which you have known and seen."

Again we gave this matter some thought. We said we offered this law to those who had not done their military service and thus had not fought in defence of Iraq.

Another Kurd who has fought in defence of the Revolution and the Homeland and is still in the service within the Third Corps may therefore say, "How could the government take such a resolution, whereby an outlaw is offered the chance to get back to the Autonomy Region, while I, the good citizen, have not been offered such a chance?" Someone may whisper to him urging him run to away from the Third Corps to the mountain only to come back a week later so as to be covered by the amensty.

In order not to educate our people in evasive ways, we decided that this law should include not only those failing to join the army and the deserters, but also the good people who have abided by the law, joined the military service and fought in defence of the country. Those among them who want to be transferred from the Second or Third or Fourth Corps to the First Corps in the Autonomy Region should be immediately transferred. Certain Commanders told me that Iraqi Kurds are part of Iraq so why have this law when the Army Law stresses that a soldier should serve when-

ever the homeland needs him. I said, "I know this, but let us see first how many of those failing to join military service and how many deserters would join the Army in accordance with this Law."

Then I started to receive calls from the Commander of the First Corps to tell me the number of returning soldiers was five thousand, then ten thousand, then twenty thousand and so on, until it has now risen to forty-eight thousand.

Therefore forty thousand Iraqi citizens have returned to the fold of the people and the homeland. How can I abandon all these citizens as to become runaways, who would run to the mountains if they see a policeman, unable to work, to enroll their children at schools, or see their families?

If we leave them, they will become vulnerable to the influence of bad people who seek to corrupt their minds and urge them to sabotage parts of the country.

Therefore, the right thing to do is to win over the fifty thousand citizens first. After I win them over and educate

them, after they sense their commitment to the homeland and the need to fight in its defence, they will come to me and to the Leadership and ask how they can stand with arms folded while the country is exposed to aggression; they will ask to be armed. They will say that they now feel confident in dealing with us, that they have put on uniforms and found them comfortable and not frightening, and that they have found training a good practice through which they learned order, discipline and precision. Indeed, military training helps man lead a better life and with greater precision. Even after leaving military service, he will become more orderly than a man who has not served in the army. For all these reasons, they will ask to fight side by side with their other Iraqi brothers.

The Commander of the First Corps and other brothers in the General Command of the Armed Forces told me that after I ordered that all Kurdish citizens under military service as well as deserters and those failing to join service had to be transferred there (to the northern area), the number of troops exceeded the actual need.

Not all of them are needed: a maximum of 10 thousand are needed, but the 40 thousand others are certainly not. They asked what they could do with them, since they will only confuse the military units to which they belong.

I told them: "All those who are more than 30 years old should be exempted from military service, but after completing their training, which would teach them order and discipline and what it means to have a uniform which would make them see the State and the city, so they would not only seek the uplands in the mountains like gazelles. When persons above 30 years of age finish training, they can leave military service because the period of training stands for their military service. All were included in this measure. Then the Commander said there were still many who were unemployed. We said, "fine when they have finished training well tell them he who wants to work with the State can do so according to his profession." We want for the Kurdish citizen to learn a profession, because anyone without a profession cannot face life with the required creativity

and ability for interaction and may even become an oddity. If he acquires a profession, he will become a blacksmith or an electrician, for instance, through his service in the army or the State organs where citizens learn professions and skills. If he works in a State firm he, family and his country will all benefit.

Those who just wander here and there in the mountains carrying their rifles doing nothing but smoking are a burden to society. They make a good medium for mischievous and evil elements.

We have advised that those among the remainder of Kurdish citizens concerned who choose to work in a State organ will get the salary of a conscript and a lump sum of 20 Dinars until they complete their term of (Military) service, and then they can work like all other civilians. Are such resolutions correct?

I would answer that they are and are not at the same time. How? For an Iraqi citizen with normal conditions they are not correct. For, how can we accept that Iraqi Kurdish citizens do not fight in

in defence of Iraq? Is it acceptable that only non-Kurdish citizen defend their country? How can we accept such a logic? It is totally unacceptable. If we accepted it, we would insult our Kurdish citizens for many centuries to come. Iraqis would say that the homeland had once been exposed to a possible total aggression and destruction and Iraqi Kurdish citizens did not fight in defence of the homeland.

We in no way accept such a thing for our people. Our Iraqi Kurdish citizens are good fighters. A Kurdish citizen's sincerity is so profound that he cares for nobody but to the one he is loyal to. When he is loyal to somebody or to the State or the Leadership of the homeland or the government he will express his feelings in a highly distinguished manner.

As for his combat ability, he is also a distinguished fighter. Why? The more man lives in a difficult environment the more prepared he will be for difficult military life and the fighting involved. We know that mountainous people with their hard conditions make excellent fighters.

Moreover, when we exclude Iraqi Kurdish citizens from the duty to defend the homeland and confine it to non-Kurdish citizens only, we shall reduce the number of Iraqis. Instead of confronting Iranian aggression with 14 million Iraqis, we shall do so with 12 million people, if we exclude the 2 million Iraqi Kurds.

Hence, we shall have an imbalanced state of affairs. Iraq would be as if it had shrunk-which will be definitely to the advantage of aggressors.

Therefore the prime aim of our resolutions is first to win over our people. Then I am sure that even those Iraqi Kurds who have been or will be exempted from military service will respond favourably if we ask them to come to serve as reservists for two or three or four months in the Third Corps to fight Persian aggressors. As long as confidence exists between the State and its Kurdish citizens, they will come to fight as the most courageous and sincere combatants do.

You, fighters, and your other colleagues who have refused to enjoy the right to

go to the First Corps will remain the most distinguished among such citizens. Your attitude expresses a high degree of awareness and commitment to your principles and responsibilities as Iraqis in defence of great Iraq against the barbarians.

Such are the reasons and the difficult circumstances behind these resolutions. We met with you today in recognition of the profound degree of your awareness and loyalty to the homeland. When I was told that some Kurds refused to be transferred to the First Corps I asked to see representative specimens of such soldiers.

Please convey my best regards to your brother fighters in your units and formations, and to your families. God bless you.

Please convey my best regards to Iraqi Kurds everywhere and tell them that no one should commit the historic mistake which would make his neighbour one day say that

he did not fight in defence of the homeland when it was exposed to danger. I hope that they will be in the forefront of all those fighting and building up Iraq, because Iraq is their homeland their honour and their pride and the banner of glory for all.

Thank you.

صدام حسين

مع لبناء العراق

(١) حديث السيد الرئيس القائد صدام حسين
خلال مشاركته في مناقشة ورقة عمل دار
الثقافة والنشر الكردية بتاريخ ١٩٨٣/٣/٩ .

(٢) حديث السيد الرئيس القائد صدام حسين
خلال تقليده نوط الشجاعة لمجموعة من
المقاتلين من ابناء شعبنا الكردي بتاريخ
١٩٨٣/١/١٩ .

اصدار دار المأمون للترجمة والنشر
وزارة الثقافة والاعلام
بغداد ١٩٨٤

رقم الايداع في المكتبة الوطنية ببغداد ()
لسنة ١٩٨٤

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